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ABSTRACT

The bibliography includes 615 citations of books, articles, general sources, and bibliographies on aspects of bilingual education, multicultural education, and the role of language in education in Canada. Citations in the first section, on society and language policy, are organized in the following categories: history; sociological aspects; psychological aspects; politics in education; policy analysis; finance and economics; general works; and general works specific to a province or region. The second sections' contents, on bilingual teaching and learning, are presented in the following categories: contributions to psycholinguistic ideas; teaching methods and curriculum; pre-school learning; primary school learning; secondary school learning; and bilingualism and higher education. The third section, "Beyond French-English Bilingualism," includes: immigrants and other ethnic groups; adaptation for Asian migrants; and programs for Ukrainians. The fourth section, "Reference Works", includes general and program guides and bibliographies. Background information on Canada's relevant educational and language history is provided in an introductory narrative. (MSE)

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David H. Kelly

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INTRODUCTION

To us at the State University of New York at Buffalo, Canada is more than a large, friendly and somewhat obscure foreign country to the North. It is at the center of our consciousness as source of research and collaboration. A large number of Canadians study at this University, and our active Canadian-American studies program helps to coordinate activities. In the Faculty of Educational Studies, a thriving exchange and collaboration agreement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education brings Canadian professors to teach at this University and sends out staff North to teach. Bilingual/Multicultural Education in Canada: Interpretation and Bibliography, the 15th in the Special Studies Series of the Comparative Education Center, is part of this active interest in Canada.

There is much that we can learn from the Canadian experience. David H. Kelly has brought together a selective bibliography on language, multiculturalism and education in Canada. The actions of the provincial and federal governments in Canada and the scholarship done by Canadians have some useful lessons for Americans--and others--who are concerned with the key question of language and education in an increasingly diverse world. Because language is such a crucial issue in Canada, some of the most incisive scholarship has been done there on this topic.

The Comparative Education Center is particularly pleased to be able to publish this bibliography. Canada is the source of considerable research and writing in the field of comparative education. At our Center, there is an active interest in studying Canadian education and its relevance to the United States.

David H. Kelly, the author of this bibliography, is an assistant professor of history at D'Youville College, Buffalo. He has long been associated with the bibliographical work of the Comparative Education Center and is co-author of

several volumes that have stemmed from the Center's research program. His more recent publication is Research on Foreign Students and International Study (Preager Publishers, 1985).

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Philip G. Altbach
Director
Comparative Education Center

LANGUAGE AND THE CANADIANS

by David H. Kelly

What is Canada? Who is a Canadian? Who speaks in which language for Canadian culture and for national distinction? These are vital questions not only today but in the history of Canada. Born as the combination of two distinct European cultures, Canada has never easily accepted her birth, and her growth has been complicated by the addition of new immigrant cultures, the recognition of older native cultures and with uneasy cultural and economic relations with the colossus, the United States of America, growing to the south.

The deep division of Canadian consciousness is best seen historically. Responding not just to economic and cultural invasions, but actual political interference from the United States in the early 19th century, some Canadians created a strong British identification. Migrations from the British Isles strengthened this identification. However, such feelings which included pride in the British empire hardly were satisfactory to French Canadians (see Jaeneen in 204a below). The situation in turn-of-the-century Ontario illustrates the clash. When the large minority of French Canadians resident in Ontario demanded their own schools be taught in French the pro-British elements organized a winning political movement which essentially said "stay in Quebec or learn English," advocating education in French only for the purpose of assimilation (no. 12). Since Canadian governments have always recognized and subsidized religious education the issue became more complicated when Irish Catholics in Ontario demanded English language education and separation from French Catholic domination and language (no. 102 and 73). Other 19th century nationalist formulations linked French and British Canadians; for example, the idea of winter and the great white

northern landscape, or Canadians as the dynamic Northmen of the Americas. However, this concept had its own negative racial and ethnic implications since the doctrine argues that negroes and southern Europeans would never stand the climate of Canada and hence would never be a problem as some thought they were for the United States. With massive southern European immigration after World War II the negative aspects of this nationalist solution became apparent. Nor had the colossus of the south disappeared. The Massey Commission of the 1940's indicated a cultural invasion, noting that education in Canada was dominated by graduates of New York's Columbia University and their trainees. The confused nature of Canadian national consciousness remained into the later 20th century. Studies in the late 1960's showed Canadian youth had more provincial or regional identification and less national consciousness than U. S. youth and divergence between French speakers and English speakers was particularly wide (Tomkins in no. 102).

In response to this situation (made apparent in a series of official studies in the late 1960's - no. 187), the federal government created two new policies -- official bilingualism in government affairs and multi-culturalism as the basis of society. The first policy, established in the Official Languages Act of 1969 and re-enforced by the Official Languages Resolution of 1973, stated that the Canadian government was bilingual and would respond to and serve its citizens on a bilingual basis when a minority - either French or English - of ten percent lived in an area. To make the policy a reality some aspects of the federal government would operate in one language, others in the second language. A massive adult education program met the need to retrain 19,000 current civil servants and bilingualism became part of the requirement for employment (no. 154). The federal government also began major financial support of language programs with $200 million in grants available to the provinces which always have had complete control of education (no. 118). The

multi-cultural (multi-lingual) policy created in 1971 by the Liberal Party government of Pierre Trudeau was seen as a support of official bilingualism. The goals of the policy were to assist all cultural groups to grow and contribute to Canadian culture; to help these groups overcome any barriers to full participation in Canadian life; to produce creative encounters between cultural groups, and to aid all immigrants to attain working knowledge of one of the official languages (no. 114). These policies would seem to meet the needs of all Canada, but for some they were too little, too late.

The back drop to the Official Languages Act and subsequent reform was agitation in Quebec for separation from Canada. By the Fall of 1970 Quebec terrorists kidnapped a British diplomat and then kidnapped and killed a provincial minister. While terrorism was suppressed the separatist movement grew to the point that their political party captured a majority in Quebec elections in the Fall of 1976. What caused such radical feelings and bitter votes? A study of the early 1960's demonstrated two distinct cultural and language groups even in a mixed city like Montreal. In a city of almost one and one half million people barely ten per cent were bilingual and many of these were students and the young. Bilingual speakers declined among middle-aged and older citizens showing a stiffening of language attitudes over time (no. 59). Language also made a tremendous economic difference for the individual. Census data in Montreal demonstrated that native English speakers with bilingual ability dominated the higher prestige occupations, followed by English speakers. Those that spoke only French usually served in the bottom occupational areas (no. 34). A broader study comparing language groups in all of Canada to those in Quebec, holding education level constant, showed that English speakers had better incomes than French speakers in all areas but particularly in Quebec. The authors suggest that the relatively improved situation for French speakers

outside Quebec might be accounted for through a "brain drain" phenomenon from Quebec. The differences persisted over several censuses but seemed to be diminishing (no. 66).

The political events and the economic realities are reflected in the attitudes of youth. Young French speakers from the upper classes in Quebec look to separatist, nationalist solutions, while those from the lower class are less separatist but demonstrate a strong cultural attachment to their French community (no. 91). Further, French and English speaking youth have distinct heros and little national consciousness. Indeed, English speaking Canadians tend to ignore French contributions to Canada. In comparison to Switzerland the anglophones think in a dominate manner with little concern for the minority (no. 147). The only positive findings on national attitudes are that Quebec bilingual youth identify with Canada as a whole and that the Canadian Liberal Party is a national bridge operating in both Quebec and English Canada (no. 144 and 91).

Many in Quebec feel the national bilingual and multi-cultural program is inadequate. For them bilingualism should be a national policy -- Quebec should be only French. Multiculturalism is viewed as a positive threat since it allows immigrants to adopt any language in Quebec, and Quebec could gain an English speaking majority. In 1931 fifty per cent of immigrants learned French in Quebec, by 1961 seventy per cent chose English as their second language (no. 102 and 141). Even the Liberal Party of Quebec in its Bill 22 (1974) made French the official language of the province and allowed access to English schools only for those already proficient in the language. Two years later with the Parti-Quebecois in power, these ideas were considerably strengthened in Bill 101. Only students whose parents had attended English-language schools in Quebec would be allowed entry to such schools. All immigrants and all Canadians from other provinces would attend French language schools. Exempt from the law were

native peoples, temporary residents for a maximum of six years, and Canadians whose home provinces allowed French language schools (MacDonald in 204a). By the late 1970's only three provinces had mandatory French schools for francophones (Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba) which would fit the law. Two more had permissive legislation and four had administrative rules which allowed such schools but they were not legally required. Furthermore, even in Ontario French instruction for high school students dropped from almost one half to about one third of all students when the language was no longer required for university entry (no. 255). Other studies in Ontario showed that the French language schools were inferior, that French speakers continued to receive less education and continued to have lower social and economic status (no. 115).

Clearly, the French speakers inside and outside of Quebec have a reason for concern. Their demand has been for a bilingual Canada -- the French and English languages as officially equal and French widely enough known so French Canadians do not feel excluded. Canadian liberals led by Pierre Trudeau have used multi-culturalism to gain support of French language learning. However, multi-culturalism has become an issue in itself as groups in Western provinces, like the Ukrainians, have adopted that policy without much regard to bilingualism in French (Lupul in no. 102 and no. 557). Ontario, with its Heritage Language Program recognizes forty four language groups which hardly provides a special place for French (Jaeneen in no. 204a). Trudeau, and the Liberal Party, have insisted the language of learning is an individual option and have stuck to the multi-cultural solution -- indeed, writing that idea into Canada's new constitution (MacDonald in no. 204a). The French in Quebec still feel bilingualism and multi-culturalism have different aims and consequences and are not pleased with the national policy. French Canadian's unhappiness is unlikely to meet a response. Some English Canadians are hostile to both bilingualism and

multi-culturalism (Jaenen in no. 204a), and many view the whole issue and even Quebec separatism as a gastric disorder that should just go away.[1] Even some educators feel that society is asking schools to solve a major problem far beyond their competence(no. 132).

Despite political division, hostility and indifference, both multi-lingual, multi-cultural programs and French language programs have been in effect for almost ten years and policy assessments are being made. To aid national integration the federal government spend $13 million in 1978-1979 on French as a second language (FSL) program in Ontario schools. From these funds over 200 schools and 29,000 pupils tried French immersion programs. Several studies have questioned the effects of these programs on the schools and asked why parents have sent children into them. The most startling finding is that elite groups have most heavily used the immersion program, not for its goal of national integration but because they feel a sound knowledge of French will help their children's career aspirations. Thus, language programs became divisive on a social class basis with the dominate social class intervening in the schools (with negative effects inside the schools) to help their children (no. 65 and 179).

Nor has multi-culturalism lived up to the goals established by the government. Often multi-culturalism is merely a means of integrating immigrants into the mainstream culture. For example, Quebec helps sponsor private schools where the language of instruction is Hebrew, Greek and Armenian but the second language is only French. The province also provides multi-cultural programs in seven other languages but again with the goal of teaching French (p. 50, no. 163). Such confusion of goals exists in English speaking Canada as well where expressions of hostility to such programs and even racial bias against Asian and West Indian immigrants has been found (no. 163 and 127a). One reviewer even suggested that major private and governmental reports harbored racial

attitudes.[2]

Looking directly at students undergoing multicultural and bilingual programs has provided researchers with a mixed set of results. One study of francophone and anglophone students showed far fewer differences in attitudes between language groups than between gender groups with social class groupings having by far the greatest effect on attitude (no. 93). Another study of New Brunswick students showed absolutely no difference in attitudes of language groups after a thorough bilingual experience in schools. However, some studies continue to report sharp difference of French Canadians from English Canadians on political attitudes, and find French Canadians biased against business in fear of discrimination and clinging to their own group for the same reason (no. 145, 75, 98).

Struggles of the French Canadians or Ukrainian Canadians represent groups with political strength and demands. Multi-culturalism also has been applied to Amerindian, Inuit, and mixed racial groups (like the Metis) who have lacked political power but have tremendous need. As late as 1940, ninety per cent of the native groups had no formal education and the only schools were run by missionaries. Over the next thirty years the federal government acted to improve conditions and make education virtually mandatory. The federal government provided resources, professional educators, secular teachers, but thought little about cultural demands or local control. As a result by the 1970's, thirty per cent of native children still dropped out of school by sixth grade, only three per cent graduated from high school and there were less than 400 university graduates of native origin (no. 28 and 574). Furthermore, distinct groups of mixed native-caucasian ancestry like the Metis were not recognized by the federal government and left to struggle, often with limited success, with local authority (no. 596).

The emphasis in the 1970's on multiculturalism has clearly improved actions and thinking on native education. Sociological researchers have shown that assimilation was demanded for jobs and success in school (no. 570). Psychologists have demonstrated the culture bias of testing based mainly on verbal skills (no. 573). Several, recognizing specific problems, have made sound suggestions to enhance teaching by meeting psychological and cultural differences. These include greater use of visual and demonstration methods, involvement of community in outdoor practical training, less time restricted demands on students and above all native teachers and community control of school (no. 569, 570, 603).

Aside from political, national, and sociological considerations, both bilingual and multi-cultural programs in Canada have stimulated an important body of research on the nature of language and the effect on the human mind of being bilingual or multi-lingual. Seeing the future of Canada as bilingual, researchers in the late 1960's wondered at the effect bilingual training might have on cognitive development. Much to their surprise, since they expected from previous research a negative effect, they found positive correlations between early second language learning and intelligence (no. 88). These positive discoveries were not well received by psychologists, but subsequent research has supported them, at least, once a threshold of understanding is reached in both the mother tongue and in the second language. The early research was correct in noting some confusion in cognitive development, but failed to precede a few steps further to where the positive gain in intelligence, especially cognitive flexibility, began (no. 86, 305).

Canadian programs have not only led to basic research on the nature of language and its effect on thinking but also to practical experiments in how to teach a second language. Canadians have experimented particularly with language teaching by immersing the child in a learning environment where the media of

instruction is not the student's own language but a second language. Two primary school systems, St. Lambert and Elgin, in Ontario have become virtual laboratories for research in immersion techniques. St. Lambert used a total immersion process with French as the medium of instruction and English as a second language. The Elgin study split the day between the two languages (French and English) with some subjects taught in each language. Both approaches have proven very effective in teaching French. Total immersion produced French skills approaching those for whom French is the mother tongue. Partial immersion was less successful than total immersion, but far superior to any traditional language training. Over time there were no negative consequences in terms of English reading skills, mathematics or learning in any other subject area (no. 454, 466, 454). There were negative sociological aspects; teachers who resented the new emphasis, too few francophone teachers in primarily English speaking areas, etc. The teachers also found a shortage of French curriculum material and text books simple enough to be used by non-mother tongue learners, especially for mathematics (no. 479).

Canadian programs have also experimented with immersion concepts at the secondary and higher education levels. Usually, these programs are of more limited duration, two or three weeks, in a French environment. Depending on the environment chosen, a college campus or a French family, different effects have been discovered. All have shown some modest improvement in French language skills; residence with a group of peers seems to have reduced anxiety in using the language, residence with families seems to lead to better attitudes toward francophones (no. 498 and 500). Clearly, the research on secondary school French immersion is not as complete or systematic as that on primary schools but does offer some interesting insights.

Canada is not yet unified on language or the meaning of its nationalism,

but the bilingual policy with multi-cultural support (the Liberal Party legacy) remains the law and constitutional basis of society. Despite apathy and occasional hostility, the upper class English Canadian supports the program and even Quebec has let the issue subside with the election of the Liberal Party to provincial leadership. With some exceptions the policy has integrated some immigrant and ethnic groups into a broad national consciousness and has clearly improved education and hope for Amerindian groups. The policy has added to world knowledge of the effects of language acquisition and the methods of teaching language. Finally, the policy perhaps deals with the conundrum of the colossus to the south. An immigrant professor once asked me, a typical citizen of the United States, "What is a person who speaks three languages called?" "Tri-lingual," I answered. "Two languages?" "Bilingual." "One language?" he asked. "Mono-lingual." "No," he replied, "an American." An American perhaps, but with Canada's policies probably not a Canadian.

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Society and Language Policy

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Also see items 399, 426, and 501.

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